

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-11

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAM-01 SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-03 NSC-10 SS-20 ACDA-19 OIC-04

OMB-01 AEC-11 DRC-01 /166 W  
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R 131900Z FEB 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4054

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3698

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 0786

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SU\*JECT: CSCE: FRG COMMENTS ON SOVIET ATTITUDES

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

1. IN NAC FEBRUARY 13, FRG PERMREP RETURNED TO WHAT FRG CONSIDERS A HARDENING OF SOVIET ATTITUDES ON CSCE. THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, REVEAL THAT THE SOVIETS ARE TRYING TO RETURN TO POSITIONS HELD AT THE OUTSET OF THE HELSINKI MPT. THIS HARDENING TREND COULD BE NOTED IN THE BREZHNEV SPEECHES AT SOFIA ON SEPTEMBER 19, 1973. AND AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW ON OCTOBER 26, 1973.

2. IN THE GERMAN VIEW, THE SOVIETS ARE CONCENTRATING ON THREE PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS:

(A) FORMULATION OF AN UNRESTRICTED PRINCIPLE COVERING  
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THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS. THE SOVIETS OCCASIONALLY, AND SIGNIFICANTLY REFER TO "UNSHAKABILITY" OF FRONTIERS". SOVIETS RELEGATE PEACEFUL FRONTIER CHANGES EXCLUSIVELY TO CASES OF "FRONTIER CLARIFICATION". THUS REJECTING THE WESTERN FORMULAT

OF PEACEFUL CHANGE.

(B) THE SOVIETS HAVE ALSO REJECTED THE WESTERN OBJECTIVE OF IMPROVING CONTACTS ACROSS FRONTIERS BY RESTRICTING SUCH CONTACTS ONLY TO THOSE PERMITTED UNDER THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF EACH COUNTRY INVOLVED. THIS WOULD LEAVE IMPLEMENTATION ENTIRELY IN THE HANDS OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS ALTHOUGH\* SOME POPULAR PRESSURE WOULD BE BROUGHT TO BEAR.

(C) THE SOVIETS CRITICIZE THE ALLEGED SLOW TEMPO OF THE GENEVA DISCUSSIONS AND BLAME THEM ON WESTERN DELAYING TACTICS. AT THE SAME TIME, ACCORDING TO THE FRG, THE SOVIETS INSIST THAT CSCE PHASE III TAKE PLACE "AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL."

3. THE FRG WAS NOT SURPRISED AT THE SOVIETS' RETURN TO ORIGINAL POSITIONS WHICH REFLECTS THE SOVIET INTENTION TO WITHDRAW ANY PRIOR CONCESSIONS AS SOON AS THEIR TACTICAL OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN OBTAINED.

4. THE FRG SEES A RISK IN ACCEPTING APPARENT SOVIET CONCESSIONS IN BASKET 3 AS BARGAINING COUNTERS FOR WESTERN CONCESSIONS IN BASKET 1 SINCE THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE EXPECTED LATER TO RENDER BASKET 3 AGREEMENTS MEANINGLESS BY SUBJECTING THEM TO NATIONAL LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

5. THE ALLIES MUST, ACCORDING TO THE FRG, RESOLUTELY OPPOSE SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO APPLY UNILATERAL INTERPRETATIONS TO AGREEMENTS REACHED IN THE CSCE. THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS PROVIDED FOR A BALANCED APPROACH TO SECURITY, ECONOMIC AND HUMANITARIAN/CONTACTS ASPECTS OF CSCE. IN THE GERMAN VIEW, WESTERN SOLIDARITY WILL BE OF THE ESSENCE DURING THE PHASE WHICH HAS JUST BEGUN IN GENEVA.

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